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ABSTRACT

While many speculative statements exist to indicate that aspirations of metropolitan Negro youth are high, little empirical evidence exists to document this thesis. This report provides findings from an analysis of the frames of aspirational reference of 281 sophomores from an all-Negro high school located in a low income ward of Houston, Texas. Robert Merton's idea of "frame of aspirational reference" was operationalized to include indicators of goal level for occupation, income, education, and place of residence and an indicator of hierarchial goal importance. It was hypothesized that the male and female respondents would demonstrate similarly high level frames of aspirational reference. It was concluded from the findings that the boys and girls studied did maintain a consistently high level frame of reference. In addition it was observed that very few of the respondents had low level aspirations and that boys and girls maintained identical hierarchies of goal importance. Pertaining to sex differences, it was observed that boys tended to hold slightly higher educational and income goals to demonstrate a higher level of consistency across goal levels in their frame of reference. Relevant implications were drawn. (Author)

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SOCIAL AMBITIONS OF NEGRO BOYS AND GIRLS FROM A METROPOLITAN GHETTO

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Introduction

Several social scientists have sought to explain the involvement of Negro youth in the rash of social protest riots in our metropolitan centers in terms of their rising social and economic aspirations (Hughes, 1965: 1135; Broom and Glenn, 1965: 182-183; Dyckman, 1966: 802-803; Edwards, 1966). These men conclude from their studies and observations that the aspirations and ambitions of Negro youth are rising faster than their opportunities for social mobility. This situation results in a reservoir of pent-up frustration, dissatisfaction, and hostility which periodically results in a thrashing out at the community that seems to restrict their social and economic progress.[1]

The works of several theorists support the notion that the social aspirations of Negro youth are high relative to their opportunities for attaining them. At the most general level, Robert Merton in his theory of social structure and anomie has proposed that inculcation of high-level success goals is a patterned characteristic that cuts across sub-cultural differentiation in our society (Merton, 1957: 134-141). Supporting Merton's general contention is the more specific proposition of Milton Gordon that "behavioral assimilation" (acculturation) has taken place rapidly among Negroes, while "structural assimilation" has not (Gordon, 1961: 263-285). Antonovsky essentially says the same thing when he proposes that Negro youth are in the process of dissociation from their negative minority status (Antonovsky, 1967: 393). With few exceptions, Merton's general proposition is supported by the extensive body of research evidence accumulated on job and educational aspirations. The relatively small amount of

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similar research findings accumulated on Negro youth tends to support the more specific propositions of Gordon and Antonovsky (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1967; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Kuvlesky and Lever, 1967).

Several years ago we became interested in testing the validity of Merton's proposition as it pertains to the aspirational frames of reference of Negro youth from the rural South. Our results indicated that Negro and white rural youth maintained similarly high occupational, educational, and income goals and a common desire to move to a large city (Kuvlesky and Upham, 1967). Our broad purpose here is to extend this line of investigation to the frames of aspirational reference held by Negro boys and girls from a large metropolitan center located in the South. Our primary research objective is to determine if these youth also have high-level goals and, more specifically, if there are significant sex differences in this respect.

Framework[2]

Merton, in developing a conceptual apparatus for his theory of anomie, proposed that most people maintain simultaneously a set of goals that are differentially valued. He termed this set a "frame of aspirational reference" (Merton, 1957: 132-133). This idea seemed fruitful to us as a means of ordering our investigation since we had indicators available for four different goals--income, occupation, education, and place of residence--and for the respondents' subjective valuation of these goals. This analysis is necessarily limited to the four goal areas mentioned above; consequently, the best we can do is to consider what is in reality a partial frame of aspirational reference for our respondents.[3]

Review of Relevant Literature

Past research on status aspirations of youth has been largely restricted to occupational and educational aspirations. The few past studies involving Negro youth and making comparisons by sex indicate that both males and females maintain high-level occupational and educational goals. In addition this evidence indicates patterns of relatively consistent but slight sex differences in levels of these goals: males have slightly higher educational goals than females (Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1968: 23, 25, 33, 53) and females have slightly higher occupational goals (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1967: 29, 36).

Past reports of research directly relevant to our research focus--the frames of aspirational reference of metropolitan Negro youth by sex--are very few (4) and limited to consideration of only occupational and educational projections.[4] Findings from a Florida study by Middleton and Grigg (1959) indicate that urban Negro girls maintain higher job aspirations than their male counterparts. These findings receive some support from a study by Sprey (1962) on youth from small metropolitan areas in the North.[5] However, a study by Antonovsky and Lerner (1959) of teen-agers from New York City provides evidence indicating males have much higher job aspirations. Regardless of sex differences, all of these studies indicate that metropolitan Negro youth generally have high-level occupational goals. Also, two research reports indicate that urban Negro youth have high-level educational aspirations (Antonovsky and Lerner, 1959;[6] Antonovsky, 1967). Evidence from the 1959 study indicates that Negro boys have higher educational aspirations than girls.

The dearth of relevant research findings and the conceptual limitations and inconsistencies in the results of studies that do exist point to the need for additional empirical information on this subject. Our study will contribute evidence that should help clarify past research and extend present knowledge by providing a more inclusive consideration of aspirational frames of reference than now exists.

Research Objectives

The general research objective was to evaluate the proposition that teenage Negro boys and girls from a large metropolitan area maintain similarly high-level frames of aspirational reference. Within the context of our data, we have derived four specific tests for the general proposition stated above. It is hypothesized that our Negro male and female respondents maintain similarly high goal levels in reference to education, occupation, and income and maintain similar place of residence preferences. The analysis will consist of male-female comparisons of level of aspirations for each of the goal areas mentioned above. In addition, we will examine briefly the manner in which the male and female respondents structured these goals into a hierarchy of importance.

Research Procedures[7]

Data for this analysis were obtained during May of 1966 from a 50 percent sample of all sophomore homerooms in a large all-Negro high school serving a low-income Negro ghetto in the city of Houston, Texas. The 111 boys and 170 girls selected through this procedure were gathered in a large cafeteria in order to complete a group-administered questionnaire requiring approximately

45 minutes to complete.[8] No attempt was made to contact students enrolled in school but not present the day of the interview or persons of similar age who were not enrolled in school.[9]

For each of the four status areas under consideration, a stimulus question was provided in the questionnaire to obtain responses that would indicate ultimate status goals.[10] Descriptions of these instruments are presented in Appendix A.

The raw data representing each goal was originally coded into variable numbers of categories--frequency distributions over these original categories are given for each goal area in Appendix A. We felt that it would simplify our analysis if we could standardize the number of categories for all four goal areas. Therefore, in every case, except for place of residence, we established a set of four rank-ordered classes indicating the following relative goal levels: very high, high, moderate, and low, Diagram 1.[11]

Background Characteristics of Respondents

The all-Negro high school from which the respondents were drawn was purposively selected because it served an area characterized by high incidence of poverty and racial homogeneity. An analysis of selected social attributes of the respondents obtained from their answers to stimulus questions contained in the questionnaire reflected general marked social disadvantage.

Almost two-thirds of the main breadwinners in the families of the respondents were either unemployed or employed in low-prestige labor or operative

Diagram 1: Description of Goal-Level Categories Used in the Analysis of Income, Occupation, and Educational Aspirations.

Goal-Level	Goal-Area		
	Income (thous. per yr.)	Occupation	Education
	Content of Level Categories		
1. Very High	15+	Professional, Technical & Kindred	4 Years of College+
2. High	9 to 15	Glamour, Manager, Official, Farm Owner or Foreman	4 Years of College
3. Moderate	3 to 9	Clerical, Sales Skilled Worker	High School + Additional Formal Training
4. Low	-3	Operative, Laborer, Domestic Service	High School Graduate or Less

types of jobs (Table 1). In addition, it was observed that approximately two-thirds of the fathers and almost one-half of the mothers of these respondents attained less than a high school level of formal education (Tables 2 and 3). Compounding these obvious disadvantages were observations of larger than normal families and evidence of family instability. Well over half of the respondents' families contained more than five children (Table 4). Moreover, many of the families were characterized by the absence of one or both parents--fully 42 percent had incomplete family systems (Table 5). What is more, almost half of the respondents' mothers were employed full-time and an additional 19 percent worked outside the home part-time (Table 6).

In summary, the respondents involved in this study tended to come from families characterized by low socioeconomic status, very large numbers of children, absence of a parent or parents, and working mothers. There appear to be no significant male-female differences in regard to these background characteristics.

Findings

Income Goals

In regard to desired income, Negro boys indicated higher level goals than the Negro girls (Table 7). Substantially more males than females aspired to incomes of the "very high" level, while proportionately twice as many females desired incomes at the "low" level. However, it is important to note that the income aspirations of the females were still high: almost two-thirds of the females had aspirations within the "very high" and "high" goal levels, while

Table 1. Occupation of Main Breadwinner in Families of Metropolitan Negro Youth by Sex of Respondent.

	Male (N=107)	Female (N=160)	Total (N=267)
	----------Percent----------		
Unemployed	2	7	5
Unskilled Laborer	37	38	38
Operatives	20	17	18
Skilled Blue Collar	23	22	22
Clerical & Sales	6	6	6
Professional & Managerial	12	10	11
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Information	4	10	14

Table 2. Level of Formal Education Attained by Fathers of Metropolitan Negro Youth by Sex of Respondent.

	Male (N=111)	Female (N-170)	Total (N=281)
	----------Percent----------		
No Information*	16	22	20
Eighth Grade or Less	20	15	17
Some High School	21	27	24
High School Graduate	19	19	19
High School Graduate + Additional Training	12	9	10
College Graduate	12	8	10
TOTAL	100	100	100

*No information was included as a separate category in the distribution because of its high frequency of occurrence and because in all probability these responses are indicative of very low levels of educational attainment, certainly less than high school.

Table 3. Level of Formal Education Attained by Mothers of Metropolitan Negro Youth by Sex of Respondent.

	Male (N=111)	Female (N=170)	Total (N=281)
	----------Percent----------		
No Information*	14	8	11
Eighth Grade or Less	14	14	14
Some High School	16	26	22
High School Graduate	30	29	29
High School Graduate + Additional Training	14	17	16
College Graduate	12	6	8
TOTAL	100	100	100

*No information was included as a separate category in the distribution because of its high frequency of occurrence and because in all probability these responses are indicative of very low levels of educational attainment, certainly less than high school.

Table 4. Number of Children in the Families of Metropolitan Negro Youth by Sex of Respondent.

	Male (N=105)	Female (N-163)	Total (N=268)
	----------Percent----------		
4 or less	46	40	42
5 to 7	35	41	39
8 or more	19	19	19
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Information	6	7	13

Table 5. Marital Status of Parents of Metropolitan Negro Youth by Sex of Respondent.

	Male (N=110)	Female (N=170)	Total (N=280)
	----------Percent----------		
Married, living together	58	58	58
Separated or Divorced	36	28	31
One or Both Parents not living	6	14	11
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Information	1	0	1

Table 6. Employment Status of Mother of Metropolitan Negro Youth by Sex of Respondents.

	Male (N=111)	Female (N=168)	Total (N=279)
	----------Percent----------		
Employed Full-Time	47	42	44
Employed Part-Time	20	19	19
Not Employed looking for work	8	5	6
Disabled or Retired	2	0	1
Does not work	20	29	26
Not applicable, have no Mother or Stepmother	4	5	4
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Information	0	2	2

only a very small minority had "low" goals. We conclude that our male and female respondents are similar in that a majority of both maintained high income goals and only small numbers held low income goals.

Also of interest is the wide range of variability noted in the specific incomes desired by our Negro respondents. An inspection of the distribution of responses over the original income goal categories indicates that sizeable proportions aspired to incomes of $50,000+ per year, while smaller but still substantial numbers aspired to very low incomes (See Appendix A, Table 1).

Occupational Goals

The most significant finding about the occupational aspirations of our respondents is that the majority of both boys and girls held "very high" occupational goals and that few of either grouping held "low" goals (Table 8). Even so, male-female differences of significance were observed. The major difference occurs in reference to the low goal level where males proportionately outnumber females 7 to 1, although the number of respondents involved is small.

The clustering of females in the "very high" and "moderate" goal levels may indicate perception of societal restrictions on the occupations opened to women. A more detailed distribution of the original measurement categories shows that almost 80 percent of the females restricted their goals to either low-prestige professional or clerical occupations (See Appendix A, Table 2).

Educational Goals

In general, more males than females in our sample have high occupational goals (Table 9). Over three-fourths of the males indicated "very high" or "high" level goals. Comparatively, only a small majority of females indicated

Table 7. Income Goal Levels of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Income Goal Level		Male (N=110)	Female (N=170)
		------Percent------	
Very High		59	42
High		17	21
Moderate		18	25
Low		6	12
TOTAL		100	100
No Information		1	
$x^2 = 9.01$	df = 3	$P < .02 < .05$	

Table 8. Occupational Goal Levels of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Occupational Goal Level		Male (N=110)	Female (N=169)
		------Percent------	
Very High		56	63
High		23	9
Moderate		14	27
Low		7	1
TOTAL		100	100
No Information		1	1
$x^2 = 23.99$	df = 3	$P < .001$	

Table 9. Educational Goal Levels of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Educational Goal Level		Male (N=111)	Female (N=169)
		------Percent------	
Very High		31	30
High		45	24
Moderate		17	44
Low		7	2
TOTAL		100	100
No Information			1
$x^2 = 27.54$	df = 3	$P < .001$	

a desire for similarly high levels of educational attainment. As was noted previously for occupational and income aspirations, very few boys or girls held "low" educational goals; however, proportionately more males were classified within the "low" goal level. The major sex difference involves the two intermediate goal levels: almost half of the boys held "high" goals while an equal proportion of girls maintained "moderate" goals.

In contrast to the other status areas, slightly less than a third of either the males or females held "very high" goals--a desire for post-graduate education. Still, the detailed breakdown on educational goals clearly indicates that a majority of both boys and girls wanted to finish college and almost all desired post-high school training (See Appendix A, Table 3). What is even more remarkable, considering the social deprivation that most of these youth experienced, extremely few (1 percent) wanted to quit high school.

Residence Goals

The place of residence goals of the Negro boys and girls are very similar (Table 10). Almost all these youth desired to live in a very large city. An interesting finding, in view of the fact that all of these youth were metropolitan residents, is that one-sixth of the females and even more males indicated a desire to move out of the large city. Of these, the majority wished to live in a small city.

Goal Hierarchies

The rank order importance in which the respondents placed their status goals is identical for both males and females: education was listed as the most important goal, occupation ranked only slightly higher than income, and residence was least important (Table 11). In addition, the mean importance

Table 10. Residence Goals of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Goals	Male (N=111)	Female (N=170)
	------Percent------	
In a city		
Very large	82	84
Small	6	9
Near a city		
In a town or village	3	4
In the country but not on a farm	5	3
On a farm	2	0
Not near a city		
In a town or village	1	0
In the country but not on a farm	0	0
On a farm	1	0
TOTAL	100	100

$x^2 = 6.67$ df = 7 $P > .30 < .50$

scores for each of the status goals were approximately the same for both sexes. The females demonstrated a slight tendency to place more importance on education and less importance on income than the males.

With the exception of education, there appears to be a positive correlation regarding sex differences between the hierarchial arrangement of the goals and aspiration levels within the respective status goal areas.

Summary of Findings

In general it can be concluded from our findings that our respondents, teen-age Negro boys and girls from a large metropolitan area, held high-level occupational, educational, and income goals and maintained similar place of residence goals (Table 12). What is even more striking, considering the generally disadvantaged situation of these youth, is that our findings also indicate that very few of these Negro boys or girls had low-level aspirations for any of the status areas considered. In addition, it was observed that the Negro boys and girls studied maintained almost identical goal hierarchies--giving education first order of importance, place of residence last, and placing occupation and income between these two goals in rank order of importance. While this evidence offers consistently strong support for our general hypothesis--that metropolitan Negro boys and girls maintained similar goal levels--at a more specific level meaningful sex differences were observed among our respondents. The most important of these differences are listed below:

1. Males tended to have noticeably higher level goals for education and income. This sex difference is particularly marked in reference to educational aspirations.

2. Although the number of respondents involved is small, males more frequently maintained low goal levels, with the exception of income.

Table 11. Goal Hierarchies of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls: Mean Level of Importance.

Goal Types	Male	Female	Total
	--Mean Level of Importance Scores*--		
Education	1.9	1.3	1.6
Occupation	2.9	2.8	2.8
Income	3.1	3.5	3.3
Residence	4.6	4.7	4.6

*Range 1-7

Table 12. A Summary Comparison of the Proportions of Metropolitan Negro Males and Females Holding High Level and Low Level Goals.

Goal Level*	Type of Goal					
	Males			Females		
	Income	Job	Education	Income	Job	Education
	----------Percent----------			----------Percent----------		
High	76	79	76	63	72	54
Low	6	7	7	12	1	2

*The high level category used here includes both the "very high" and "high" categories used in the previous detailed descriptions by goal area. The low level category used here corresponds directly with the previous low level categories.

3. Males displayed less variability (or, conversely, more consistency) in their aspirational frame of reference across goal areas (Table 12).

It is important to note that no meaningful sex differences were observed in reference to residence goals and that sex differences observed relative to occupational aspirations do not justify a conclusion that one sex grouping had higher level goals than the other.

In summary, we conclude that the metropolitan Negro boys and girls studied maintained a consistently high-level aspirational frame of reference and an almost identical hierarchy of goal importance.

Discussion

The results of this investigation support and extend generalizations derived from previous studies of frames of aspirational reference of Negro youth. A summary comparison of the male portion of this study with the Negro boys included in our previous study of rural youth (Kuvlesky and Upham, 1967) extends the support for Merton's contention that patterned inculcation of high success goals approximates a universal in our society (Table 13). What is more, the order of goal valuation is quite similar between the rural and metropolitan Negro boys included in these two investigations (Table 14). On the other hand, it can be readily observed from the summary of aspirational frames of reference provided in Table 13 that Negro boys tended to maintain slightly higher goal levels than rural boys. Whatever the case, the general support for Merton's contention apparent in these two investigations strikes a significant blow toward undermining the myth that youth living in poverty circumstances, particularly Negro youth, lack a desire for social and economic mobility.[12]

Table 13. A Summary Comparison of the Proportions of Rural and Metropolitan Negro Males Holding High Level and Low Level Goals.

Goal Level*	Type of Goal					
	Rural Negro Males			Metropolitan Negro Males		
	Income	Job	Education	Income	Job	Education
	----------Percent----------			----------Percent----------		
High	66	54	64	76	79	76
Low	17	25	6	6	7	7

*The high level category used here includes both the "very high" and "high" categories used in the previous descriptions by goal area in this paper and in that by Kuvlesky and Upham. The low level category corresponds directly with the previous low level categories used in both papers.

Table 14. Goal Hierarchies of Rural and Metropolitan Negro Boys - Mean Level of Importance.

Goal	Rural	Metropolitan
	--Mean Level of Importance Score--	
Education	1.8	1.9
Occupation	3.4	2.9
Income	3.3	3.1
Residence	4.5	4.6

Maximum Possible Range in Scores: 1-7

Our findings also support some of the fragmented and tenuous generalizations that have evolved from past studies of metropolitan Negro youth. Support is given to previous studies that found evidence indicating high-level occupational and educational aspirations for these youth. The results of our investigation extend our ability to at least tentatively generalize beyond these two status areas to indicate that metropolitan Negro boys and girls also maintained high-level income goals and a similar preference to remain in a large city. As far as we can determine, our investigation provides the first evidence to indicate that metropolitan Negro youth can order their goals in a hierarchy of valuation: they place educational attainment at the top of this hierarchy, above job and income attainment.[13]

Pertaining to sex differences, the conclusions we reached from this investigation tend to support evidence from past studies that males have slightly higher educational goals than females; however, our results did not strongly support the general findings of most other studies of Negro youth, particularly those pertaining to metropolitan Negro youth, that females tend to have slightly higher occupational goals than males. In fact, if anything our study tends to support the findings of Antonovsky and Lerner (1959) indicating that males tend to have slightly higher job aspirations. Moreover as far as we can determine, ours is the first study to indicate that males maintain slightly higher level income goals than females.

Theoretical Implications

Generally speaking, the evidence of this investigation extends the general validity of theoretical implications that evolved from our prior study of rural youth (Kuvlesky and Upham, 1967). Consequently, we will mention these only

briefly here. Perhaps the most significant theoretical implication is the additional support for Merton's thesis that patterned inculcation of high success goals approximates a universal in our society. In particular the evidence of this report indicates that most metropolitan Negro youth have as high aspiration levels as those of more fortunate white youth.[14] This observation lends evidence in support of Gordon's contention that Negroes have undergone acculturation into the dominant culture, which fits in logically with Antonovsky's conclusion that Negro youth are in the process of dissociation from their negative minority status (Gordon, 1961; Antonovsky, 1967).

This investigation adds additional support for the research utility of Merton's idea, "frame of aspirational reference." Taken together with our study on rural youth, the results presented here clearly indicate that youth do maintain a complex configuration of goals and demonstrate patterns of rank valuation of these goals.

Obviously, there is a need to test the general validity of the inferences and generalizations we have drawn here. Although supporting evidence does exist for some of these goal areas, there is a glaring lack of information on income goals, residence goals, and on the patterned nature of goal complexes--with the exception of our prior investigation of rural youth.

Considering the unrealistic high level of aspirations maintained by Negro youth residing in the metropolitan ghetto and the obvious impediments they face in attempting to attain these goals (or even lower level goals), it is not unreasonable to predict that many of these individuals will develop dysfunctional forms of adaptation of the type that Merton has labeled rebellion and innovation (Merton, 1957: Chapters 4-5). Unless this situation is ameliorated, we can anticipate that metropolitan Negro youth will provide a continuing reservoir of stress within the larger society.

Footnotes

1. In contrast to this more commonly held hypothesis is the opinion of several social scientists that the negative social and economic attainments of Negro youth can be explained to some extent by the fact that they have relatively low levels of aspirations or ambitions (Broom and Glenn, 1965: 34; Riessman, 1962: 26-30; Stone, et al., 1966).

2. This section is a condensation of a more detailed statement on the concept, "frame of aspirational reference," presented in the earlier paper on rural youth mentioned previously (Kuvlesky and Upham, 1967).

3. In theory, the frame of aspirational reference of any particular individual is indeterminantly variable in reference to the number of goals included, level of each goal, and valuations attached to each. Even considering our limitation to four goals, we feel that this study represents a unique contribution in extending the empirical application of the concept beyond the usual consideration of one or, at best, two goal areas.

   Another limitation of our study deserves mention. Often confusion has existed between the ideas of aspiration and expectation; however, past research indicates utility in treating these phenomena as separate entities (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966). In this effort we are limiting ourselves to a consideration of aspirations, which refer to desired status attainments, as compared to expectations, which refer to anticipated attainments.

4. We located several other reports concerned with the aspirations of metropolitan Negro youth but decided not to include them in our review because the respondents involved were of grade school age (Holloway and Berreman, 1959; Gray, 1944).

5. Sprey reports that more of the girls than boys in his sample aspired to occupations above their parents occupational level.

6. Antonovsky and Lerner used as an indicator of high educational aspirations the respondents' selection of the alternative statement, "I intend to apply for entrance to college and hope to go if I am admitted," as best describing their feelings about further educational pursuit. The stimulus contains elements of both aspiration and expectation: "intent," an element of expectation, and "hope," an element of aspiration. See footnote 3 for more information on this conceptual problem.

7. The research procedures utilized here in reference to criteria for selecting respondents, the questionnaire, the interviewing situation, measurement of variables, and analysis are identical with those we used earlier for our study of rural youth. This insures compatability of data between the rural and metroplitan investigation and facilitates deriving broad generalizations cutting across both populations.

8. Respondents were assured of anonymity before starting to fill out the questionnaire. One trained interviewer read each stimulus question aloud, while several other interviewers were available to provide assistance to respondents having trouble and to control interaction among respondents.

9. Inclusion of those absent the day of the interview and dropout age-peers would in all probability produce lower levels of aggregate aspiration. However, we could not include these persons due to limitations of resources.

10. In each case a stimulus question was structured in such a manner, in terms of word elements, to elicit long-run goals. For example, in reference to occupational aspirations we asked the respondent, "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work?"

11. We want to emphasize that there is not necessarily a direct equivalence in the goal levels of different goal areas. In each case the responses were classified on the basis of what appeared to us to be meaningful and useful distinctions within each goal area.

12. See footnote 1 for citations of reports supporting this contention.

13. Glenn (1963: 648) has hypothesized that "Negroes value education more than high occupational status." As evidence in support of this proposition, he uses the findings of a study by Rosen (1959), which indicated that Negro mothers, relative to those in other ethnic groups, had high educational and low occupational aspirations for their sons. As far as I know, the findings presented here and in our prior report on rural youth offer the first direct evidence in support of Glenn's hypothesis.

14. For support of this assertion see any of the research reports annotated by Kuvlesky and Lever (1967).

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APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS AND ORIGINAL MEASUREMENT CATEGORIES

A. Instruments

Four stimulus questions were utilized to produce indicators of the respondents' income, occupational, educational, and residence goals. A question asking the student to indicate, through a free response, the highest yearly income that he really thought he would "ever be able to make" served to provide indicators for income goals. Responses indicating occupational goals resulted from the following question--"If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work?" A modification of the widely used census scheme was used for the original classification of these responses. The stimulus question used for educational goals asked the student to indicate how much education he would want if he was completely free to choose and could have as much as he desired. The student was to indicate his answer to this question by circling one of seven structured categories ranging from "quit high school and never go to school again" to "complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university." As was the case for education, the stimulus question used to elicit residence goals was structured. The student was asked to circle one of eight alternative categories representing the kind of place he would most desire to live for the rest of his life. The major alternatives provided as responses to the question ranged from very large city to living on a farm not near a city.

A statement providing a listing of seven goal alternatives "that most young people look forward to" served as a basis for determining the respondent's goal hierarchy. The respondents were asked to rank these alternatives "in order of their importance to you." A rank of 1 indicated most importance and a rank of 7 indicated least importance.

Table 1. Income Goals of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Income Goal	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
1 - 999	2	2	8	5
1000 - 1999	2	2	6	4
2000 - 2999	2	2	6	4
3000 - 4999	6	6	16	9
5000 - 6999	7	6	14	8
7000 - 8999	7	6	13	7
9000 - 14,999	19	17	36	21
15,000 - 49,999	42	38	49	29
50,000+	23	21	22	13
TOTAL	110	100	170	100
No Information	1			

$x^2 = 9.68$ df = 8 $P > .20 < .30$

Table 2. Occupational Goals of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Occupational Goals	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
High Professional	23	21	16	9
Low Professional	39	35	92	54
Glamour	15	14	11	7
Managerial	10	9	4	2
Clerical	5	5	42	25
Skilled Worker	10	9	3	2
Operative	8	7	1	1
TOTAL	110	100	169	100
No Information	1		1	

$x^2 = 54.13$ df = 8 $P < .001$

Table 3. Educational Goals of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Educational Goals	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Quit High School	4	4	0	0
High School Graduate	4	4	4	2
High School Graduate + Vocational Training	17	15	74	44
Junior College Graduate	2	2	0	0
College Graduate	50	45	40	24
Graduate from College + Additional Studies	34	30	51	30
TOTAL	111	100	169	100
No Information			1	

$x^2 = 35.73$ df = 6 $P < .001$

Table 4. Rank order of Importance of Income Aspirations of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Rankings of Goal	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
1	5	5	6	3
2	26	24	27	16
3	49	45	75	45
4	15	14	28	17
5	8	7	13	8
6	3	3	13	8
7	2	2	6	3
TOTAL	108	100	168	100
Mean	3.1		3.5	
No Information	3		2	
$x^2 = 6.18$	df = 6		P > .30 < .50	

Table 5. Rank order of Importance of Occupational Aspirations of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Rankings of Goal	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
1	14	13	4	2
2	44	40	97	57
3	19	17	26	15
4	16	15	23	14
5	5	5	13	8
6	9	8	6	4
7	2	2	0	0
TOTAL	109	100	169	100
Mean	2.9		2.8	
No Information	2		1	
$x^2 = 22.06$	df = 6		P < .01	

Table 6. Rank order of Importance of Educational Aspirations of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Rankings of Goal	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
1	69	63	140	84
2	18	17	14	8
3	6	5	5	3
4	6	5	2	1
5	2	2	1	1
6	6	5	3	2
7	3	3	1	1
TOTAL	110	100	166	100
Mean	1.9		1.3	
No Information	1		4	
$x^2 = 18.44$	df = 6		P < .01	

Table 7. Rank order of Importance of Residence Aspirations of Metropolitan Negro Boys and Girls.

Rankings of Goal	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
1	3	3	0	0
2	3	3	2	1
3	10	9	25	15
4	38	36	44	27
5	24	22	58	35
6	22	21	29	18
7	6	6	7	4
TOTAL	106	100	165	100
Mean	4.6		4.7	
No Information	5		5	
$x^2 = 12.97$	df = 6		$P > .02 < .05$	